SURVEY ARTICLE

# THE SHAPE OF THE INDIRECT OBJECT IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

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### *0.0 Introduction*

A variety of dative constructions in certain Slavic and other case-marking languages of Europe are motivated as extensions of the canonical indirect object construction that uses the verb meaning 'give.' The identification of such dative case usage as extended indirect object constructions has important implications both for the description of individual languages in this area and for comparative linguistics. The present model defines the indirect object in such a way that the residue of verbs governing the dative form a semantically motivated and coherent group. A comparison of dative usage among languages in Central and Eastern Europe suggests that geographic contact plays a significant role in the development and spread of case-role conceptualization. Because Czech is both geographically central to the area under discussion and has the most highly developed array of relevant dative case usages, it will be used as the baseline for comparison with a sampling of other languages that have a morphologically distinct dative: Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Slovak, Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, Lithuanian, German, Romanian, and Hungarian.[1] Possible explanations for the observed areal phenomenon of extended indirect object constructions will be suggested.

### *1.0 Theoretical Preliminaries*

In the early seventies psychologists conducted research indicating that human beings categorize ideas around central prototypes, building radially-structured networks on the basis of links that connect successively more peripheral members to the prototype (cf. Rosch 1973a & b; Mervis & Rosch 1981). On the assumption that linguistic categories *are* cognitive categories with the same properties as those observed by psychologists, a similar structure has been proposed by cognitive linguists. Thus, it has been postulated that semantically complex linguistic categories instantiate structured polysemy rather than the homonymy or partial homonymy suggested by traditional inventories of uses, or the abstract general meaning sug-

gested by structuralists. A morphologically unified category (such as a given case, for example) is also semantically unified, although the internal complexity of that category may be great. This postulate has been tested in the analysis of a number of semantically complex morphemes, among them the Russian verbal prefixes *pere-*, *do-*, *za-*, and *ot-* (Janda 1986), the genitive case of Greek (Nikiforidou 1991), and the English verb particles *over* (Brugmann 1988), *up*, and *out* (Lindner 1981).

Perhaps the most eloquent and pertinent argument for the postulation of structured polysemy was presented by Nikiforidou (1991, 155–164), who lists phenomena that traditional and structuralist analyses do not explain satisfactorily:

- the fact that the range of meanings of a given category (e.g., the genitive) is similar across unrelated languages (explained in cognitive linguistics by the fact that such categories are based on human experience, and that the cognitive category to some extent predetermines the linguistic category);
- the fact that there are central readings for a category that require no context, whereas other readings are more peripheral and do require context, and also that it is the peripheral, not the central meanings that are lost first over time when there is an erosion of the category (explained in cognitive linguistics by the center-periphery structure of the category).

The analysis below employs the structured polysemy postulated by the authors cited above, as it is situated in the broader theoretical framework of cognitive linguistics as proposed by Lakoff (1987), Langacker (1986 & 1987), and Talmy (1986). It is also compatible with the systems of related meanings proposed for the Russian instrumental and Polish dative by Wierzbicka (1980 & 1986).

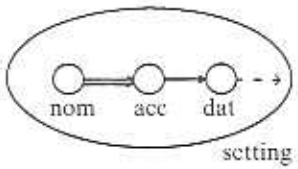
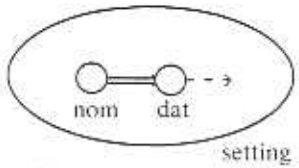
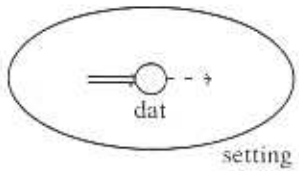
### *2.0 An Overview of the Dative*

The many non-indirect object uses of the dative (ethical dative, dative of possession, etc., often referred to collectively as the "free dative") and the dative of impersonal constructions will be excluded from discussion, for they do not exhibit any clear-cut pattern of areal phenomena, as is the case for constructions in which the dative is an argument of the verb. However, in order to place the following analysis in its broader context, I will give a very brief account of the semantic structure of the entire dative category (which is worked out in detail in Janda [1993] for Czech and Russian, and is applicable in its gross structure to all of the Indo-European languages cited in this survey).[2] The indirect object construction consists of a nominative entity (subject), an accusative entity (patient), a verbal action (which transfers the accusative to the dative), and a dative entity (potential subject of further action[3]). The governed dative construction is identical, except that one of the participants, the accusative entity, is absent. The removal of one more participant, the nominative entity, leaves a construction with only a verb and a dative entity (potential subject): the impersonal dative. These three constructions and their relations as syntagmatic variants of the indirect object construction, are diagrammed in figure 1. The relationship that binds the indirect object construction (and its syntagmatic variants[4]) to the free dative construction (and its syntagmatic variants) is paradigmatic (i.e., the result of variation in the semantics of the dative itself, rather than of variation in the construction in which it is found). This relationship is the result of an operation on the scope of the dative, which ranges from a

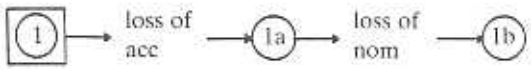


Figure 1 Schema 1 and Its Syntagmatic Variants

Schemas

| | Pictorial | Prose | Usage |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. |   | A nominative acts on an accusative to bring it to a dative in a setting. The dative retains independent status. | Indirect object |
| 1a. |   | A nominative acts on a dative in a setting. The dative retains independent status. | Governed Dative |
| 1b. |   | An action takes place on a dative in a setting. The dative retains independent status. | Impersonal Dative |

Local Subnetwork

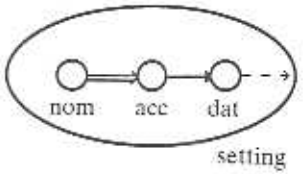
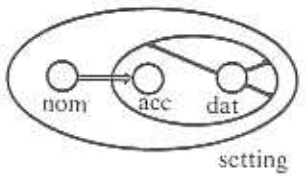



mere potential as a subject (independent status) in schema 1 to the maximally external scope of the sphere of control in schema 2. These schemas and their relationships are diagrammed in figure 2.[5]

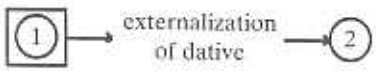
Schema 2, of course, has its own array of syntagmatic variants, which will not be discussed here; the focus of the remainder of this paper will be on schemas 1 and 1a. The reader should keep in mind that this brief excursus and the diagrams presented herein are to some extent convenient artifacts; the dative network is in fact very complex, including many transitional uses and relationships that have not been represented.

Figure 2 Czech Dative Network

Schemas

| | Pictorial | Prose | Usage |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. |   | A nominative acts on an accusative to bring it to a dative. The dative retains independent status. | Indirect object (syntagmatic variants account for governed dative & impersonal dative) |
| 2. |   | A nominative acts on an accusative in a dative's sphere of control in a setting. | Free Dative |

Network




In the analysis that follows, it will be helpful to think of the dative as a whole (represented in figure 2) as a superordinate category, which subsumes two further basic-level categories, represented as schema 1 and schema 2, each of which in turn subsumes a number of subcategories (this is diagrammed for schema 1 in figure 1). Further, the subcategories have a structure of sub-subcategories, and it is at the level of the sub-subcategory (i.e., the finer structure subsumed by schemas 1 and 1a) that the analysis below will be carried out. The organization of categories in super-, basic and subordinate levels can be easily established for lexical semantics (cf. superordinate *furniture*, basic level *chair, bed, table*, subordinate *highchair, lawnchair, rocking chair*), and the recognition of these levels is a central tenet of cognitive linguistics (cf. Lakoff 1987). Another central tenet, the assertion that lexical and grammatical semantics form a continuum (cf. Talmy 1986), sanctions the stratification of case uses invoked here.

### *3.0 The Indirect Object in Czech*

If one identifies the three-argument construction with the verb *dávat* 'give' as illustrated in example 1 (corresponding to schema 1 in figure 1) as the prototypical instantiation of the indirect object, it becomes clear that there is a diverse set of



dative constructions that appear to be semantically motivated as extensions of the indirect object. Members of this set of constructions vary according to a) the direction of the motion of the direct object with respect to the indirect object (toward or away), b) whether the direct object has a surface realization, and c) the specification of the direct object by the verb (as identical to the subject, a message, money, benefit, punishment, etc.). In the prototypical case the direct object is moved on a path directed toward the indirect object, is realized as an accusative NP, and its nature is not specified by the verb.

1. *Hana dala Petrovi knihu.*
   Hana-NOM gave Petr-DAT book-ACC
   'Hana gave Petr a book.'

The extensions of this prototypical use of the dative in an indirect object construction are of three types, based on three kinds of relationship: extension via synonymy, extension via antonymy, and extension via metonymy. These extensions link the prototype to the more peripheral members of the cognitive category of the indirect object, forming a radial network of interconnected uses, as presented in figure 3.[6] Note that figure 3 presents only the subcategories local to schema 1.

Synonymy is the most common type of extension; it adds a third dimension to the network given in figure 3 by allowing extension throughout the entire structure. Thus, there are many verbs that can have the same argument structure as *dávat* 'give' by virtue of the fact that they are synonymous or nearly synonymous with this verb. Examples are found in table 1 of the appendix.

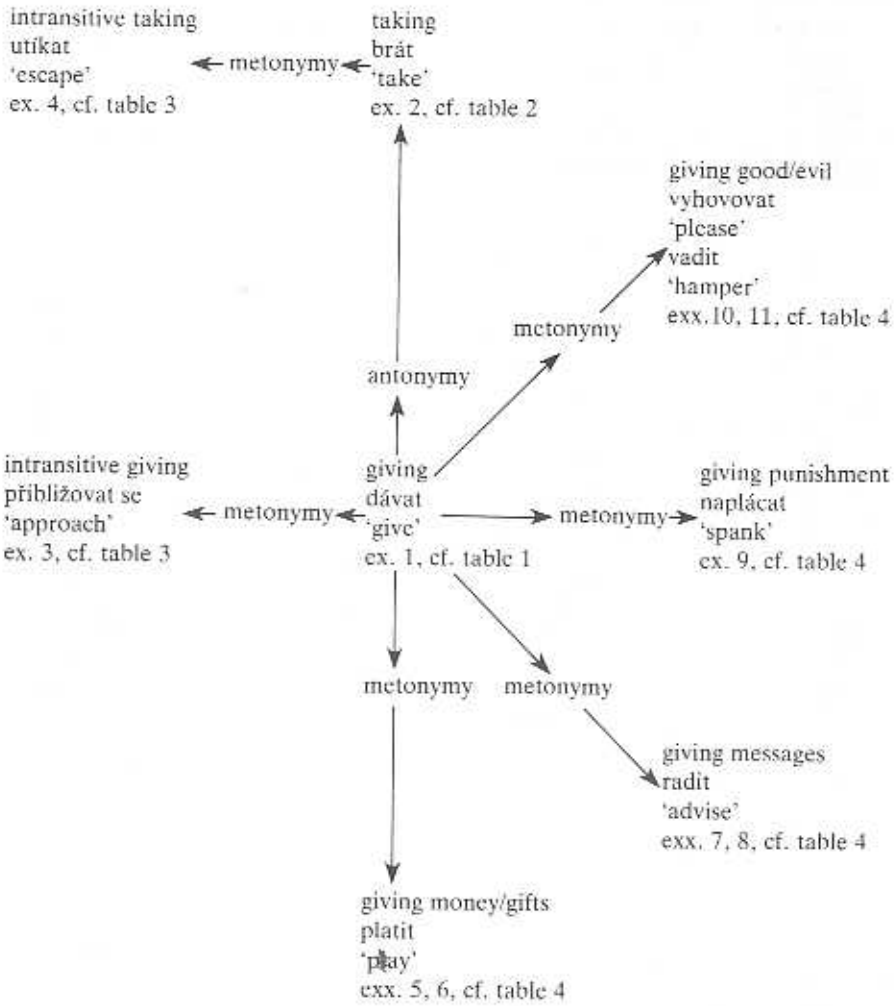
The opposite type of extension, via antonymy, is utilized only once in the indirect object network. This extension, however, is responsible for establishing the branch of the network that is the main focus of this article, for this is where we see interesting variations among languages. Extension via antonymy makes it possible for the antonym of *dávat* 'give,' which is *brát* 'take,' to have the same argument structure, as in example 2, thus reversing the direction of movement of the direct object relative to the indirect object.

2. *Alena mi pořád bere čokolády!*
   Alena-NOM me-DAT always takes chocolates-ACC
   'Alena is always taking chocolates from me!'

Synonymy further facilitates the use of the dative with verbs like *krást* 'steal' and *zcizovat* 'appropriate' and other verbs listed in table 2 of the appendix. Languages that exhibit such extension via antonymy will henceforth be referred to as having "an extended indirect object."

Metonymy produces the extensions that make up the remainder of the network. Actually, what is at work here is a kind of reverse metonymy in which the naming of a part (here a part of the argument structure of the verb, to be precise, the direct object) is subsumed in the naming of the whole (the verb). In all the examples below of metonymical extension of the indirect object the semantics of the verb necessarily specify the identity of the direct object, making its surface realization unnecessary and frequently impermissible as well. These verbs typically lack a surface accusative object, and their overt argument structure is of course different from clauses containing the protytpical indirect object and its extension via anto-

Figure 3: The Radial Network of the Czech Extended Indirect Object




nymy: these clauses have only a nominative subject and a dative object. The recognition of certain datives in two-argument clauses as indirect objects (a subcategory of schema 1 rather than schema 1a) represents a departure from standard descriptions of dative usage. The removal of verbs that are better classified as part of the indirect object construction from the dative-governing class makes descriptions of that class considerably neater, as will be demonstrated below.

One large class of verbs that lack an overt accusative is the intransitives. Intransitive verbs which specify that the self is being presented to or taken from another entity (marked in the dative) instantiate the extension via metonymy of both 'give' and 'take' and are referred to as "intransitive giving" or "intransitive taking" verbs, respectively. Examples are presented in 3 and 4 and lists of verbs are given in table 3 of the appendix.

3. *Vladimír nám nadběhl.*
   Vladimír-NOM us-DAT overtook
   'Vladimír overtook us.'

4. *Ludmila nám utekla.*
   Ludmila-NOM us-DAT ran-away
   'Ludmila ran away from us.'



Sometimes the semantics of the verb render an overt accusative object nonobligatory by specifying a referent other than that indexed by the subject of the sentence. Relevant verbs are those that can be paraphrased as "give X," where X is money (ex. 5), a gift (ex. 6), a message (ex. 7), a signal (ex. 8), punishment (ex. 9), or even a more abstract object, such as good (ex. 10) or evil (ex. 11). So here, as with the intransitives, a tangible direct object is unnecessary, because the verb specifies its nature. In all of these examples the use of the dative is well-motivated by semantic analogy to three-argument verb constructions in which the direct object appears in a noun phrase rather than being specified by the verb. Inventories of relevant verbs appear in table 4 of the appendix.

5. *Již jsem zaplatila číšníkovi.*
   Already am-AUX paid waiter-DAT
   'I have already paid the waiter.'

6. *Izraelité často obětovali cizím bohům.*
   Israelites-NOM often sacrificed foreign gods-DAT
   'The Israelites often made sacrifices to foreign gods.'

7. *Po volbách všichni gratulovali Havlovi.*
   After elections-LOC everyone-NOM congratulated Havel-DAT
   'After the elections everyone congratulated Havel.'

8. *Během přehlídky vojáci salutovali Gorbačovovi.*
   During parade-GEN soldiers-NOM saluted Gorbačev-DAT
   'During the parade the soldiers saluted Gorbačev.'

9. *Já ti naplácám!*
   I-NOM you-DAT spank
   'I'll give you a spanking!'

10. *Ten oblek ti moc sluší.*
    That outfit-NOM you-DAT much suits
    'That outfit really suits you.'

11. *Vadí mi tvoje stálé připomínky.*
    Annoy me-DAT your constant criticisms-NOM
    'Your constant criticisms annoy me.'

### *4.0 Advantages of Extended Indirect Object Model*

#### *4.1 A More Precise Definition of Indirect Object*

The present description of the indirect object yields advantages both internal and external to the construction at hand. Internally we see that the concept of indirect

object has a principled and logical structure, relevant to a wide range of construction types. This provides us with far more information than the usual "common sense" definition that merely states the prototypical instance (usually examples containing verbs meaning 'give'), leaving unaddressed the question of whether deviations from that instance should be identified as indirect objects. Which of the datives in the following sentences, for example, would we call indirect objects if using the common sense definition of that term as our sole guide?

12. *Honza mu již dal dva dolary.*
Honza-NOM him-DAT already gave two dollars-ACC
'Honza already gave him two dollars.'

13. *Honza mu již zaplatil dva dolary.*
Honza-NOM him-DAT already paid two dollars-ACC
'Honza already paid him two dollars.'

14. *Honza mu již zaplatil.*
Honza-NOM him-DAT already paid.
'Honza already paid him.'

Even if we could answer this question in a definitive manner, a simple binary distinction identifying each dative noun phrase as either an indirect object or a non-indirect object is insufficient to capture the scalar gradation present in this set of examples. Of the three, the dative noun phrase in 12 is the best example of an indirect object. Those in 13 and 14 are clearly related to that of 12, but their status as indirect objects is progressively less central. The model of the indirect object presented in this article easily accommodates this perception of relative felicity in terming datives as indirect objects by assigning uses of the dative to central or peripheral locations in the network. In addition, it reveals the principles at work in relating examples such as 13 and 14 to 12.

### *4.2 A More Coherent Account of the Governed Dative*

The benefits to be gained by approaching the semantics of the indirect object in this fashion go beyond the definition of this concept. By recognizing many two-argument constructions as extensions (subcategories) of the indirect object, we are left with a very different view of dative government than is usually presented in grammars of Czech,[8] which contain large inventories of semantically diverse verbs. When the verbs that take extended indirect objects are excluded from the survey of the governed dative, we find that the remaining verbs form a semantically coherent group, and that the use of the dative with these verbs is motivated rather than arbitrary. In order to demonstrate this point, a short digression on the semantics of the dative in general is necessary.

If we wish to generalize the semantic import of the dative in abstract terms, we might say that what sets the dative apart from other cases is the fact that it marks its referent as having some potential to experience or react to an action, or, in other words, capacity to be a subject. Smith, citing German data, states that the dative entity is "simultaneously acted upon as well as an actor in its own right" (1985:393), a property he calls "bilateral involvement" (1987:455); and Bachman (1980) has shown that in certain uses the dative in Russian passes syntactic tests



for subjecthood.[9] Further, because human beings are far more likely than inanimate objects to be potential subjects, Slavic languages permit utterances like 15, but reject 16.[10]

15. *Dala jsem Evě kytku.*
Gave am-AUX Eve-DAT flower-ACC
'I gave Eve a flower.'

16. **Dala jsem pokoji kytku.*
Gave am-AUX room-DAT flower-ACC
'I gave the room a flower.'

When a verb governs the dative, we see a two-argument structure in which the nominative subject is juxtaposed with the subject-like dative (corresponding to schema 1a in figure 1). Here we find a contest between actual and potential subjecthood on the part of the arguments of the verb. Semantically there is competition between the two in determining which, if any, will dominate the other in the arena of verbal action. It comes as no surprise, then, that all of the verbs that govern the dative reflect this struggle for power, denoting symmetrical relationships (in which the two arguments are equally matched), domination, subordination, or annulment of subordination.[11] Relevant verbs are presented in table 5 of the appendix.

The present model of the indirect object provides a crisp distinction between the indirect object and the governed dative, and motivates the meanings associated with each as well. Although there is of course some significant variation (for example, verbs of domination are governed by the instrumental in Russian), the basic outline of this argument would be the same for most of the Slavic languages.

### *5.0 A Comparison of the Shape of the Indirect Object in Various Languages*

The present model of the indirect object has an application to comparative linguistics that both exposes the relevance of geographic contiguity in the development of case usage and verifies the model.

Phenomena such as case usage are so untidy that the analysis of the data in even one language is a challenge for the linguist, and as a result such phenomena frequently defy cross-linguistic comparison. When, however, the data on usage can be shown to be organized in a principled way, comparison of usage patterns among languages becomes feasible. The data presented below demonstrate that geographic community is a strong factor in promoting the sharing of similar conceptualizations. In other words, neighboring languages are likely to show similar tendencies in case usage and the spread of case-role conceptualizations is not entirely dependent on the genetic relatedness of languages.

This survey will compare the pattern of extension of the indirect object in a representative sample of the Central and Eastern European languages that have a morphologically distinct dative case, specifically: Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Czech, Slovak, Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, Lithuanian, German, Romanian, and Hungarian. This set of languages provides a gradation of relatedness among languages, ranging from very close, within the same subfamily (as is the case for Russian and Ukrainian; Czech, Slovak, and Polish; and Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian), to relations among subfamilies (specifically the West, East and South subfamilies of Slavic), relations among families of Indo-European (Baltic, Slavic, Germanic, and Romance), and finally the lack of genetic relatedness between

Hungarian and the Indo-European languages. Czech is used as the baseline for comparison in the descriptions below.

### *5.1 Russian*

Russian has the prototypical three-argument indirect object with verbs meaning 'give,' as in:

17. *Ljudmila dala emu cvetok.*
Ljudmila-NOM gave him-DAT flower-ACC
'Ljudmila gave him a flower.'

but lacks extension to verbs meaning 'take,' which are instead accompanied by prepositional phrases, as in:

18. *Ljudmila ukrala u nego desjat' dollarov.*
Ljudmila-NOM stole by him-GEN ten-ACC dollars-GEN
'Ljudmila stole ten dollars from him.'

In a parallel fashion, Russian uses the dative with verbs expressing 'intransitive giving':

19. *Poèt predstavilsja sobravšimsja i načal čitat' svoi stixi.*
poet-NOM introduced-self gathered-DAT and started to-read own verses-ACC
'The poet introduced himself to those gathered and started to read his verses.'

but admits only prepositional phrases with 'intransitive taking' verbs:

20. *Žena ubežala ot nego.*
wife-NOM ran from him-GEN
'His wife ran away from him.'

With the exception of verbs of punishment, which take an accusative in Russian:

21. *Otec pobil djadju.*
father-NOM beat uncle-ACC
'Father beat uncle.'

all of the other extensions of the indirect object ('giving money/gifts, messages, signals, good, evil') are well-represented in Russian:

22. *Nam xorošo platjat.*
us-DAT well pay
'They pay us well.'

23. *Ona mne ne otvetila.*
she-NOM me-DAT not answered
'She did not answer me.'

24. *Ja pomaxal ej v otvet.*
I-NOM waved her-DAT in answer-ACC
'I waved back at her.'

25. *Vsem ne ugodiš.*
all-DAT not please
'You can't please everyone.'

26. *On nadoel mne svoimi voprosami.*
he-NOM annoyed me-DAT own questions-INST
'He annoyed me with his questions.'

Peculiar to Russian is a preponderance of verbs denoting harm (*grubit'* 'be rude,' *derzit'* 'be impertinent,' *vredit'* 'harm,' *izmenjat'* 'betray,' *mstit'* 'take revenge,' *grozit'* 'threaten,' *dosaždat'* 'annoy,' *mešat'* 'hinder,' *nadoedat'* 'annoy,' *naskučit'* 'bore,' *ostočertet'* 'repel,' *oprotivet'* 'repel,' *opostylet'* 'be hateful') as opposed to



benefit (*blagoprijatstvovat'* 'favor,' *pokrovitel'stvovat'* 'protect, patronize,' *ugoždat'* 'please,' *godit'sja* 'please,' *nravit'sja* 'please,' *prigljanut'sja* 'be attractive,' *poljubit'sja* 'be attractive,' *idti* 'suit'), whereas in Czech these categories are represented in approximately equal numbers. It may well be that this distribution is influenced by other uses of the dative related not to the indirect object, but to the dative as an experiencer of states. There is in Russian a correspondingly unbalanced distribution of uses of the dative with detrimental as opposed to profitable situations; Russian tends to encode the experiencer of negatively evaluated situations with the dative. For example, whereas the emotional and ethical datives have wide application in Czech,[12] in Russian such use is infrequent and rarely appears outside of the context of warning, threat, or complaint, as in:

27. *Ty mne ne opozdaj smotri!* (Academy Grammar)
You-NOM me-DAT not be-late watch
'Watch that you aren't late on me!'

28. *Vot tebe i prazdnik!*
Here you-DAT and holiday-NOM
'That's some holiday for you!'

### *5.2 Ukrainian*

The network appears to be the same as that of Russian; taking, intransitive taking and punishment verbs do not participate in the extended indirect object. Thus, we have the prototypical use of the indirect object with 'give' and its synonyms, as in:

29. *Lenin kryla nam dav.*
Lenin-NOM wings-ACC us-DAT gave
'Lenin gave us wings (i.e., he made us happy).'

30. *Ja svoje žyttja druhim daruju.*
I-NOM own life-ACC others-DAT give.
'I give my life to others.'

but 'take' and its synonyms use phrases consisting of a preposition (*vid* 'from' or *u* 'by') plus the genitive:

31. *Vid zemli treba vzjaty vse, ščo vona može daty.*
From earth-GEN must to-take all-ACC, what-ACC she-NOM can to-give
'(One) must take from the earth all that she can give.'

32. *Ja vidibrav u xlopciv tri hranaty.*
I-NOM took by boys-GEN three grenades-ACC.
'I took three grenades from the boys.'

The indirect object construction is extended to use with intransitive giving verbs:

33. *Vona viddalasja tobi usijeju dušeju*
She-NOM gave-refl you-DAT all soul-INST
'She gave herself to you with all her soul.'

34. *My molodi, my juni, i nam należyt' svit.*
We-NOM young-NOM, we-NOM youthful-NOM, and us-DAT belongs world-NOM.
'We're young, we're youthful, and the world belongs to us.'

although the stative 'belong' can also appear with the preposition *do* 'to' + genitive in colloquial speech:

35. *Komu/Do koho należyt' svit?*
Who-DAT/To who-GEN belongs world-NOM?
'To whom does the world belong?'

Intransitive taking verbs, however, combine with prepositional phrase constructions similar to those found with 'take':

36. *Vona vtikla vid mene.*
She-NOM ran-away from me-GEN.
'She ran away from me.'

37. *Tikaj meni z očej.*
Run me-DAT from eyes-GEN.
'Get out of my sight.'

'Giving money/gifts, messages, signals, good, evil' are all constructed with dative indirect objects:

38. *Pan platyv knjazevi.*
Landlord-NOM paid prince-DAT
'The landlord paid the prince.'

39. *Materi ridnij ne hovoryla.*
Mother own-DAT not spoke
'She didn't speak even to her own mother.'

40. *Xlopec' maxnuv rukoju bijcjam.*
Boy-NOM waved hand-INST soldiers-DAT.
'The boy waved his hand at the soldiers.'

41. *Meni duže podobajet'sja vaša xata.*
Me-DAT very pleases-refl your house-NOM.
'I really like your house.'

42. *Vam škodyt' tak bahato hovoryty.*
You-DAT harms so much to-talk
'It's not good for you to talk so much.'

Verbs of punishment, as in Russian, use the accusative:

43. *Ja tebe nab'ju.*
I-NOM you-ACC will-beat
'I'll give you a beating.'

### *5.3 Polish*

All parts of the extended indirect object network are well-represented, except the verbs of punishment.[13] As in Czech, both 'give' and 'take' use indirect objects:

44. *Mary daje pudełko siostrze.*
Mary-NOM gives box-ACC sister-DAT
'Mary gives a box to her sister.'

45. *Zabrano im broń.*
taken them-DAT weapon-ACC
'The weapon was taken from them.'

and both intransitive giving and intransitive taking verbs follow suit:

46. *Przedstawiłam się Irkowi.*
introduced refl Irek-DAT
'I introduced myself to Irek.'

47. *Już mi nie ucieknie.*
already me-DAT not will-escape
'He/She will not escape me anymore.'



Verbs denoting the giving of money/gifts, messages, signals, good, and evil also have indirect objects:

48. *Zapłaciłem mu.*
paid him-DAT
'I paid him.'

49. *Nie odpowiedział im.*
not answer them-DAT
'He did not answer them.'

50. *Ukłoniłem się paniom.*
greeted refl women-DAT
'I greeted the women.'

51. *Czy te róże podobają się tej kobiecie?*
whether these roses-NOM please refl this woman-DAT
'Does this woman like these roses?'

52. *Ten się naprzykrza personelowi.*
that-NOM refl bother staff-DAT
'That one is bothering the staff.'

Verbs of punishment, however, have accusative direct objects:

53. *Uderzyłem go/ją.*
hit him/her-ACC
'I hit him/her.'

unless paraphrased with 'give':

54. *Dałem mu klapsa.*
gave him-DAT spank-ACC
'I gave him a spanking.'

### *5.4 Slovak*

The use of the indirect object in Slovak very nearly matches its use in Czech. The Slovak equivalents of 'give' and 'take' have dative indirect objects:

55. *Daj mi to!*
give me-DAT it-ACC
'Give it to me!'

56. *Ukradli mi dáždnik.*
stole me-DAT umbrella-ACC
'My umbrella has been stolen.'

and intransitive giving and taking verbs have dative indirect objects as well:

57. *Predstaviť sa niekomu*
to-introduce refl someone-DAT
'To introduce oneself to someone'

58. *Uniklo to mojej pozornosti.*
Escaped it-NOM my notice-DAT
'It escaped my notice.'

Verbs denoting the giving of money/gifts, messages, signals, good and evil also take indirect objects:

59. *Zaplatil som chlapovi.*
paid AUX boy-DAT
'I paid the boy.'

60. *Pripomeň mi, aby som to urobil!*
remind me-DAT so-that AUX it-ACC did
'Remind me to do it!'

61. *Telefonoval som ti celý večer a nikto mi neodpovedal.*
phoned AUX you-DAT all evening-ACC and no one-NOM me-DAT not-answered.
'I phoned you all evening and no one answered me.'

62. *Je ťažko každému vyhovieť.*
Is hard each-DAT to-please
'It's hard to please everyone.'

63. *Prekážaš mi v práci.*
hinder me-DAT in work-LOC
'You hinder me at work.'

With verbs denoting the giving of punishment, Slovak vacillates between accusative direct objects and dative indirect objects:

64. *Udriem/Natriekam ťa.*
hit/thrash you-ACC
'I'll hit you/thrash you.'

65. *Udriem ti jednu ranu.*
will-hit you-DAT one blow-ACC
'I'll sock you one.'

66. *Nasekám ti (na zadok).*
will-cut you-DAT (on bottom-ACC).
'I'll give you a spanking (on your bottom).'

67. *Narežem ti.*
will-cut you-DAT
'I'll give you a beating.'

Indeed there appears to be a continuum of dative usage in West Slavic: Czech uses the dative here most readily. Polish uses it the least (only in paraphrases containing 'give'), and Slovak serves as the transition between these two systems.

### *5.5 Serbo-Croatian*

All branches of the extended network are present in Serbo-Croatian, albeit to varying degrees. The dative appears in prototypical indirect object constructions with 'give,' as in:

68. *Molim, dajte mi pet maraka po trideset dinara.*
please, give me-DAT five stamps-GEN for thirty-ACC dinars-GEN
'Please, give me five thirty dinar stamps.'

but the number of verbs meaning 'take' that admit a dative indirect object is very limited, consisting of only three examples: *uzeti* 'take,' *oteti* 'take away', and *ugrabiti* 'seize.' There are further usage restrictions on the taking verbs. The dative generally appears only with the past tense of *oteti* and *ugrabiti;* and *uzeti* can also take the prepositional phrase *od* + GEN, in which case it connotes 'borrow' rather than 'steal.' The following examples demonstrate the variation between the dative and the *od* 'from' + genitive prepositional phrase observed with *uzeti* 'take':

69. *Uzeo je novac od nje.*
took AUX money-ACC from her-GEN
'He took the money from her.'

70. *Uzeo joj je novac.*
took her-DAT AUX money-ACC
'He took the money from her (it was her money and/or she was affected).'

The use of a dative indirect object with intransitive giving verbs is more widespread in Serbo-Croatian than in any of the other languages in this survey. Czech, for



example, uses prepositional phrases (*k* 'to' + dative, or in the case of 'home' the adverbial *domů* 'homeward') with motion verbs in equivalents of the following two examples; Czech usage would parallel that observed for Serbo-Croatian only in the third example:

71. *A sad idi majci/kući!*
and now go mother-DAT/home-DAT
'And now go to your mother/home!'

72. *U zgodan čas pritrči neprijateljskom stražaru.*
at convenient time approach-run enemy guard-DAT
'At the right moment, run up to the enemy guard.'

73. *On se skoro vratio svojim roditeljima u selo.*
he-NOM refl soon returned own parents-DAT to village-ACC
'He soon returned to his parents in the village.'

Intransitive taking verbs, however, do not use a dative indirect object:

74. *Izišao je iz kuće.*
out-went AUX from house-GEN
'He left the house.'

There are verbs denoting 'give money/gifts, messages, signals, good, evil' that combine with a dative indirect object in Serbo-Croatian:

75. *Platio mi je odmah.*
paid me-DAT AUX immediately
'He paid me immediately.'

76. *Nikome ne govorim.*
No one-DAT not speak
'I'm not speaking to anyone.'

77. *Vaša mu se kuća vrlo sviđa.*
your-NOM him-DAT refl house-NOM very pleases
'He likes your house very much.'

78. *Gadilo joj se.*
revolted her-DAT refl
'She was revolted.'

but there are a few verbs in these categories that combine with an accusative direct object, like:

79. *Nije vas uvredio.*
neg-AUX you-ACC harmed
'He hasn't harmed you.'

In the colloquial language there are at least two verbs denoting punishment that can take the dative, although the accusative is used in the literary language. Thus one might hear an utterance like:

80. *Ćušnuo/Mlatnuo sam mu.*
Slapped/Hit AUX him-DAT
'I slapped/hit him.'

although the use of *ga* 'him(ACC)' would be considered correct.

### *5.6 Macedonian*

Macedonian generally lacks case marking on nouns and adjectives, but compensates for this by inserting the appropriate pronominal form to refer to some non-nominative noun phrases.[14] Thus in a prototypical indirect object construction the direct object (*knigata* 'book-the', *cvekinjata* 'flowers-the') is also realized as a pronoun (*ja* 'her-ACC', *gi* 'them-ACC'):

81. *Mu ja dadov knigata.*
Him-DAT her-ACC gave book-the
'I gave him the book.'

82. *Ì gi isporačav cvekinjata.*
Her-DAT they-ACC delivered flowers-the
'I delivered the flowers to her.'

Verbs meaning 'take' and their synonyms have dative indirect objects:

83. *(Toj) mi go ukrade časovnikot.*
(He-NOM) me-DAT him-ACC stole watch-the
'He stole the watch from me.'

84. *(Toj) i ja grabna torbata.*
(He-NOM) her-DAT her-ACC grabbed bag-the
'He grabbed her bag.'

Intransitive giving and taking verbs likewise have dative indirect objects:

85. *Ì se pretstaviv.*
her-DAT refl introduced
'I introduced myself to her.'

86. *Tie pari mi pripaǵaat mene.*
these money-NOM me-DAT belong me-DAT
'This money belongs to me.'

87. *Kaj mi se zagubi nožov?!*
Where me-DAT refl lose knife-this
'Where did I lose this knife?!'

88. *Ì izbegav.*
her-DAT ran-away
'I ran away from her.'

89. *Im nedostasuvaat sredstva.*
them-DAT are-insufficient resources
'They are lacking resources.'

Dative indirect objects appear with verbs meaning 'give money, messages, signals, good, evil':

90. *Mu plativ.*
him-DAT paid
'I paid him.'

91. *Nemu mu rekov.*
him-DAT him-DAT told
'I told him.'

92. *Mu namignav.*
him-DAT winked
'I winked at him.'

93. *Toj ton ne mi se dopaǵa.*
that tone not me-DAT refl pleases
'That tone does not please me.'

94. *Toa ti vredi.*
it you-DAT benefits
'Good for you!'

95. *Mi preči.*
me-DAT hinders
'He/She/It hinders me.'

although there are exceptions, such as:



96. *Go izlažav.*
him-ACC lied
'I lied to him.'

and there is even variation in case usage with the verb 'advise':

97. *Go posovetuvav.*
him-ACC advised
'I advised him.'

98. *Mu posovetuvav da odi doma.*
him-DAT advised that goes home
'I advised him to go home.'

Verbs denoting the giving of punishment do not have indirect objects:

99. *Go natepav.*
him-ACC beat
'I beat him up.'

### *5.7 Lithuanian*

Both 'give' and 'take' admit dative indirect object constructions in Lithuanian:

100. *Jie mums duos mažą kačiuką.*
They-NOM us-DAT will-give little kitten-ACC
'They will give us a little kitten.'

101. *Man buvo pavogtas arklys.*
me-DAT was stolen horse-ACC
'A horse was stolen from me.'

and the indirect object is used with intransitive giving and taking verbs as well:

102. *Jis pats mums prisistatė.*
He-NOM himself-NOM us-DAT introduced
'He introduced himself to us.'

103. *Aš padiaukojau Lietuvos reikalams.*
I-NOM dedicated Lithuania-GEN cause-DAT
'I dedicated myself to the Lithuanian cause.'

104. *Jam stinga pinigų.*
Him-DAT is-lacking money-GEN
'He lacks money.'

105. *Arklys man pabėgo.*
Horse-NOM me-DAT ran-away
'The horse ran away from me.'

Some verbs of communication have dative indirect objects:

106. *Jonas pasakojo mums.*
John-NOM told us-DAT
'John told us.'

107. *Aš rašau broliui.*
I-NOM write brother-DAT
'I am writing to my brother.'

but a large number do not and take accusative direct objects instead:

108. *Mokytojas klausinėjo studentą.*
Teacher-NOM questioned student-ACC
'The teacher questioned the student.'

In most cases, however, these verbs can be paraphrased with the verb *dúoti* 'give' to produce a prototypical indirect object construction:

109. *Mokytojas davė studentui klausimą.*
Teacher-NOM gave student-DAT question-ACC
'The teacher asked the student a question.'

The dative indirect object is used with verbs meaning 'give money, good, evil':

110. *Aš jam sumokėjau.*
I-NOM him-DAT paid
'I paid him.'

111. *Jonui patiko filmas.*
John-DAT pleased movie-NOM
'John liked the movie.'

112. *Jis man pakenkė.*
He-NOM me-DAT harmed
'He harmed me.'

with some exceptions:

113. *Gandas erzina Mariją.*
Rumor-NOM annoys Mary-ACC
'The rumor annoys Mary.'

Punishment verbs do not generally have dative indirect objects:

114. *Aš mušiau vaiką.*
I-NOM spanked child-ACC
'I spanked the child.'

but note the use of an indirect object with 'give' in the meaning 'hit'[15]:

115. *Aš tau duosiu į veidą.*
I-NOM you-DAT will-give into face-ACC
'I'll hit you in the face.'

### *5.8 German*

German usage follows the pattern observed for Czech very closely. Both 'give' and 'take' use dative indirect objects:

116. *Sie gibt dem Kellner ein Trinkgeld.*
She-NOM gives the waiter-DAT a tip-ACC
'She gives the waiter a tip.'

117. *Er nahm mir meine Brieftasche weg.*
He-NOM took me-DAT my pocketbook-ACC away
'He took my pocketbook away from me.'

118. *Ich entziehe ihm das Recht.*
I-NOM withdraw him-DAT the right-ACC.
'I withdraw the right from him.'

and the intransitive giving and taking verbs follow suit:

119. *Ich bin ihm gefolgt.*
I-NOM AUX him-DAT followed
'I have followed him.'

120. *Es gehört mir.*
It-NOM belongs me-DAT
'It belongs to me.'

121. *Er entkam seinen Verfolgern.*
He-NOM escaped own pursuers-DAT
'He escaped his pursuers.'

122. *Das Pferd lief ihm fort.*
The horse-NOM ran him-DAT away
'The horse ran away from him.'



Likewise, we find dative indirect objects with all the other extended meanings:

123. *Thomas bezahlt den Männern.*
Thomas-NOM pays the men-DAT
'Thomas pays the men.'

124. *Ich danke dir.*
I-NOM thank you-DAT
'I thank you.'

125. *Antwortet er dir?*
answers he-NOM you-DAT
'Does he answer you?'

126. *Ich telegraphiere/telephoniere/rufe/winke/rate/drohe/schmeichle/gratuliere ihm.*
I-NOM [verbs] him-DAT
'I telegraph/telephone/call/beckon to/advise/threaten/flatter/congratulate him.'

127. *Er gefällt mir.*
He-NOM pleases me-DAT
'I like him.'

128. *Das wird Ihrer Gesundheit schaden.*
That-NOM will your health-DAT harm
'That will harm your health.'

Verbs denoting punishment, however, do not have indirect objects unless paraphrased with 'give' as in:

129. *Er gab ihm eine große Strafe.*
he-NOM gave him-DAT a big punishment-ACC
'He punished him severely.'

### *5.9 Romanian*

The dative is morphologically distinct for pronouns and the article in Romanian.[16] Here again we see the extended indirect object used with both 'give' and 'take':

130. *Vă voi da niște bani.*
You-DAT I-NOM will-give some money.
'I'll give you some money.'

131. *Mi-au furat banii.*
Me-DAT-have stolen money-the
'Money has been stolen from me.'/'I had money taken.'

Indirect objects can be found with intransitive giving verbs:

132. *M-am prezentat ei.*
Me-refl-have introduced her-DAT
'I introduced myself to her.'

133. *Ea mi s-a arătat într-un vis.*
She me-DAT refl-has showed in-a dream
'She appeared to me in a dream.'

134. *Mi s-a întîmplat un eveniment.*
me-DAT refl-has happened an event
'An event happened to me.'

but are limited to occurrence with only three intransitive taking verbs *a-i scăpa cuiva* 'escape from someone,' *a evita cuiva* 'avoid someone,' and *a lipsi cuiva* 'be lacking to someone,' as in:

135. *Îi lipsește mintea/cafeaua.*
him/her-DAT lacks mind-the/coffee-the
'He/She lacks commonsense/coffee.'

Otherwise the intransitive taking verbs use other constructions, as in:

136. *A fugit de la mine.*
has run from me-ACC
'He/She ran away from me.'

Verbs denoting 'giving money, messages, signals' take indirect objects:

137. *Mi-au plătit.*
me-DAT have paid.
'They have paid me.'

139. *I-am telefonat.*
Him/Her-DAT-have telephoned
'I telephoned him/her.'

138. *El vă spune.*
He-NOM you-DAT tells
'He is telling you.'

140. *I-am făcut cu ochiul.*
Her/Him-DAT-have made with eye-the
'I winked at him/her.'

Verbs denoting benefit ('giving good') have indirect objects:

141. *Mi se potriveşte costumul.*
Me-DAT it-REFL suits suit-the
'The suit looks good on me.'

but those denoting the opposite ('giving evil') have direct objects:

142. *Mă deranjează.*
Me-ACC bothers
'He/She/It bothers me.'

Verbs denoting punishment have accusative objects, unless paraphrased with 'draw' as in:

143. *Mi-a tras o palmă.*
Me-DAT-has drawn a slap
'He gave me a slap.'

### *5.10 Hungarian*

Here we see a different pattern, with the indirect object confined to fewer environments than in the other languages in this survey. It may well be that the underlying principles organizing dative usage are different for this language given its different genetic origin. 'Give' combines with dative indirect objects, as in:

144. *Az asszony ajándékoz egy könyvet a leányának.*
the woman-NOM gives a book-ACC the her-daughter-DAT
'The woman gives a book to her daughter.'

145. *Átadja az erôdöt az ellenségnek.*
hand-over the fortress-ACC the enemy-DAT
'He/She hands over the fortress to the enemy.'

but 'take' takes the genitive (like Russian):

146. *Elveszi a labdát Pétertôl.*
takes the ball-ACC Peter-GEN
'He/She takes the ball from Peter.'

147. *Kölcsönkér valamit valakitôl.*
borrow something-ACC somebody-GEN
'He/She borrows something from somebody.'

The fact that the dative is limited to conveying 'give' as opposed to 'take' is amply demonstrated in the following pair of examples:



148. *Elkérte a könyvet tôlem.*
asked the book-ACC me-GEN
'He asked me for the book.'

149. *Elkérte a könyvet a barátjának/a barátja részére/a barátja számára.*
asked the book-ACC the his-friend-DAT
'He asked for the book for his friend.'

The use of the dative with intransitive giving is limited to a few verbs, such as:

150. *Úgy tûnik neki.*
it seems him-DAT
'It seems so to him.'

otherwise we find other cases:

151. *Megközelít valakit.*
approach somebody-ACC
'He/She approaches somebody.'

152. *Valami történik valakivel.*
something-NOM happens somebody-INST
'Something happens to somebody.'

Intransitive taking verbs do not have dative arguments:

153. *Megválik valakitôl/valamitôl.*
part-with someone-GEN/something-GEN
'He/She parts with someone/something.'

154. *Elbúcsúzik valakitôl.*
take-leave-of someone-GEN
'He/She takes his/her leave of someone.'

The dative can be found with some verbs that denote the giving of money, messages, signals, good, evil:

155. *fizetni valakinek*
pay someone-DAT
'to pay someone'

157. *tisztelegni valakinek*
salute someone-DAT
'to salute someone'

156. *Parancsol valakinek.*
order somebody-DAT
'He/She orders someone.'

158. *örömet szerezni valakinek*
joy-ACC procure someone-DAT
'to please someone.'

159. *A fagy sokat ártott a gyümölcsösnek.*
the frost-NOM much damaged the fruit-trees-DAT
'The frost did much damage to the fruit trees.'

but there are exceptions as well as variation in some instances:

160. *tapsolni valakit/valakinek*
applaud someone-ACC/someone-DAT
'to applaud someone'

161. *elôsegíteni/elômozdítani valakit*
benefit someone-ACC
'to benefit someone'

Verbs denoting punishment do not admit dative indirect objects.

### *6.0 Interpreting the Data*

The most interesting generalizations to be drawn from this data can be made with respect to the presence vs. absence of extensions of the indirect object via antonymy. Three languages, Russian, Ukrainian, and Hungarian, lack the entire branch of the network represented by taking and intransitive taking verbs. The fact that we

generally see good representation of branches of the network or no representation is at least a partial confirmation of the model. If the indirect object is indeed extended in the fashion described above and has the internal structure suggested, then we would expect the branches of the network to behave more or less as units. If the model were irrelevant, there would be nothing to prevent a patchwork effect instead. We see patterns that deviate significantly from the prediction of the model only in: Hungarian, which may indeed not conform to the model; in Romanian, which has lost most of its case morphology already and may well be losing the structured indirect object proposed in the process (as opposed to Macedonian, which is losing case morphology but not the indirect object structure); and to some extent in Serbo-Croatian, which uses the dative only with the semantically central verbs of taking and intransitive taking, but not with their synonyms. The implications of the geographical distribution of indirect object extension via antonymy, as sketched in figure 4, will be discussed below.

### *7.0 Some Speculations*

Although a definitive proof of how and why the indirect object came to be extended to use with verbs of taking in some languages but not in others goes beyond the scope of this article, I will venture two hypotheses. The extended indirect object may be either an innovation or a relic, and I will present evidence supporting each of these hypotheses.

Figure 4: The Geographic Distribution of the Extended Indirect Object

### *7.1 The Extended Indirect Object as an Innovation*

With the exception of Hungarian, all of the languages in the sample located southwest of Russian and Ukrainian exhibit the extended indirect object. Since the dative is not used with verbs of taking in this sense in ancient Greek[17] and Latin, it might be an innovation. Because this innovation has spread to the Slavic family it would have taken place subsequent to the southward expansion of the Slavs in the sixth century AD. The anomalous behavior of Hungarian may result from either the later arrival (between the ninth and tenth centuries) of the Ugric peoples in central Europe, or from the fact that Hungarian is an unrelated non-Indo-European language, or from both of these circumstances. Beyond this, the time at which the alleged innovation took place is hard to determine. Although varieties of Old Church Slavonic and Old Russian generally use prepositional phrases in expressions of taking, we do see datives even in early texts such as the *Ostromirovo evangelie* (1056–57):

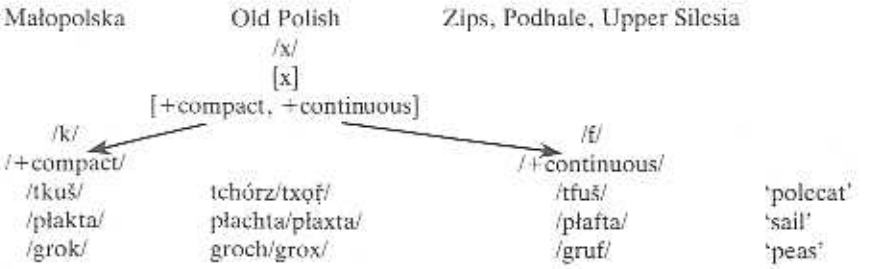
162. *sъvlěkošę jemu bagъręnicǫ*
took off him-DAT purple-ACC
'they took off the purple from him (KJV)' (Mark 15:20)

but examples like this are not conclusive, for the verb denotes 'take off' rather than 'take away' and the dative may be motivated just as an experiencer of something that happened to the referent's person (i.e., the relevant interpretation may be that the taking off of the purple is something that happened to him [cf. schema 2 in figure 2] rather than that the purple was taken away from him [cf. schema 1 in figure 2]). Yet nearly six centuries later the use of the dative with verbs of taking is absent from a Czech translation of the Bible (Králická Biblí, 1613), where prepositional phrases with the genitive are to be found, as in:

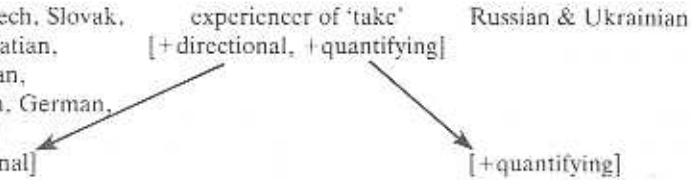
166. *Vezměte od něho tu hřivnu*
Take from him-GEN this pound-ACC
'Take from him the pound (KJV)' (Luke 19:24)

It is difficult to say where the innovation occurred or what its ultimate expansion was.

Expanding upon the hypothesis that this represents an innovation, the data suggest that this might be a bifurcating change of the type described by Andersen (1974), involving an abductive innovation in ranking and feature valuation. Here I am suggesting that the distribution of dative vs genitive usage with taking and intransitive taking verbs parallels in its development the distribution of /k/ and /f/ as reflexes of original /x/ in Polish dialects, as analyzed by Andersen:



Neither dialect had any /+continuous, +compact/ phonemes, and each made a decision to choose a single relevant feature. Subsequent remedial innovation made /k/ into [k] and /f/ into [f]. Andersen claims that his typology is valid at all levels of language, but does not provide examples of bifurcating morphological change. An innovation which assigns for the experiencer of 'take' either the dative or the (usually prepositional) genitive would, however, appear to qualify as a bifurcating morphological change. If we use the classic Jakobsonian system of semantic case features,[18] we would be justified in assigning to the experiencer argument of 'take' the features [+directional, +quantifying], since taking necessarily involves both direction (from experiencer) and quantification (extent to which experiencer is affected). Thus an abductive innovation in ranking and feature valuation parallel to that cited from Andersen above would be responsible for the current distribution of case marking with 'take':




Each language made a decision as to which feature was relevant. Subsequent remedial innovation changed [+directional] to [+directional, +marginal] (to prevent syncretism with the other object of 'take,' which was already accusative), and changed [+quantifying] to [+quantifying, −marginal] (since locative would not be appropriate).

### *7.2 The Extended Indirect Object as a Relic*

It may also be that the extended use of the indirect object was present in Proto-Indo-European and has been curtailed in many modern languages, leaving behind the Sprachbund of West and South Slavic, German, and Romanian where it has been retained to varying degrees. Old Hittite, for example, evidently used the dative with taking verbs, as in:

167. *n = an = zan pine[nuz]zi kuis n = an = si = k[an] tuhsanzi.*
connective she-ACC refl he-kidnaps which-NOM connective she-ACC him-DAT particle they-separate.
'The one who has eloped with her, they take her away from him.'

The replacement of the extended dative with prepositional phrases could be seen as part of a general tendency to replace bare case forms with prepositional constructions, the same process which has eroded the substantival morphology of English, Bulgarian, and Macedonian, and continues to favor prepositional usage in certain constructions in other languages. The instrumental of means, for example, is losing ground to prepositional phrases in both Russian (cf. Schupbach 1986) and in Czech, where it is now possible to hear 168b:

168a. *Napsala jsem to tužkou.*
Wrote AUX it-ACC pencil-INST
'I wrote it with a pencil.'

168b. *Napsala jsem to s tužkou.*
Wrote AUX it-ACC with pencil-INST
'I wrote it with a pencil.'



Further, in Polish there is a very strong tendency to replace much of the indirect object usage with prepositional phrases in *do* + genitive:

169. *Ojciec mi pisze o trudnej sytuacji w Polsce.*
father-NOM me-DAT writes about difficult situation-LOC in Poland-LOC
'Father writes to me about the difficult situation in Poland.'

—but—

170. *Ojciec do mnie pisze.*
father-NOM to me-GEN writes.
'Father writes to me.'

### *8.0 Conclusion*

The intent of this article, however, is not to establish a definitive history for dative usage in central Europe, but rather to show that such comparisons are possible and that the suggested model is justified. What is most curious about the geographic distribution outlined in figure 4 is the lack of correlation in places between this isogloss and family relationships. In this sample, languages in the same Slavic subfamily behave similarly, but they also reflect the usage common to the region in which they are found, a factor apparently not tied to genetic relatedness alone. This observation carries with it a significant implication: that geographic proximity plays a role in the development of argument structure and how it is conceptualized. Further, conceptual structures are clearly transmissible among languages. In essence, what figure 4 shows us is that there are some languages in which Z in utterances meaning 'X takes Y from Z' is conceptualized as merely a source point (Russian, Ukrainian, Hungarian), and other languages that conceptualize Z as an experiencer of an action analogous to C in utterances meaning 'A gives B to C.' Barring extremely diverse historical conditions (as in the case of Hungarian), languages that are geographically contiguous tend to share conceptual structures.

I have proposed a model of case usage that posits internal structure for the semantics of cases. This model thereby breaks down the mass of data on case usage into logically interrelated units, or branches of a network. When data can be viewed in such a systematic fashion, interlinguistic comparison is facilitated. Comparison of usage points to the importance in language development of dimensions of space, in addition to time-anchored genetic relationships. Additionally, the model allows for both a clearer definition of case roles and a more systematic treatment of governed case.

## NOTES

1 Thus this study includes: a) those languages contiguous to Czech that have morphological case expression, b) languages that are contiguous to those in a) and have morphological case, and c) Macedonian. I must express thanks to my friends and colleagues who assisted me in preparing the comparative data: Charles Carlton, Predrag Ćićovački, Paul Debreczeny, Lawrence Feinberg, George Fowler, Victor Friedman, Sanda Golopentia, Darka Hawryshkyw, Henrieta Hazucha, Elżbieta Karpińska, Antanas Klimas, Craig Melchert, Vasa Mihailovich, Klára Papp, Veselka Palmer, Maria Pavlovszky, Ireneusz

Sipkowicz-Hicks, Ljupčo Stefanovski, Iosif Weismann. I, however, remain responsible for any errors made in gathering and interpreting this data.

2 For an account of the dative in German in the framework of cognitive linguistics, see Smith 1985 & 1987.

3 The designations "potential subject" and "independent status" will be explained below in the digression on the governed dative under the heading "Advantages of the Extended Indirect Object Model," p. 539.

4 Here, "syntagmatic variation" refers to variation in the basic structure of a construction. The following syntagmatic variants are relevant here, and correspond to the diagrams in figure 1: 1) a three-argument construction with a verb, a nominative argument, an accusative argument, and a dative argument; 1a) a two-argument construction with a verb, a nominative argument, and a dative argument; and 1b) a one-argument construction with a verb and a dative argument. Syntagmatic variation is a distinction secondary to that of paradigmatic variation, which is explained in the text.

5 The difference between the indirect object in schema 1 and the free dative in schema 2 can be illustrated by the following examples in Russian:

indirect object: *Ivan podaril nam plastinku.* 'Ivan gave us a record.'

free dative: *Ivan otkryl nam dver'.* 'Ivan opened the door for us.'

In the indirect object construction, the dative is an obligatory argument of the verb, the accusative entity is transferred to the dative entity which has the potential to react to this situation. Neither of these statements is true for the free dative construction.

6 A number of dative constructions in Czech were first identified as extensions of the indirect object in Janda 1993. For a discussion of radial categories in the framework of cognitive grammar, see Lakoff 1987.

7 Another possible interpretation of example 2 is: "Alena is always taking my chocolates!" There is some overlap between this extension of the indirect object and another part of the semantic network of the dative, namely the part that includes dative usage traditionally labelled "dative of possession." Whereas the use of the dative with verbs meaning 'give' signals an action which usually results in the dative referent becoming the possessor of an object, possession is a necessary precondition in a clause with the opposite semantic import. Before something can be taken away it must be possessed in some sense. The relationship between this extended indirect object and the dative of possession is discussed in greater detail in Janda 1993; cf. also the discussion of this phenomenon in Friedman 1977.

8 Here I make reference both to textbooks and to descriptive grammars of Czech, such as Havránek and Jedlička 1960, Heim 1982 and Šmilauer 1972.

9 Bachman gives extensive evidence of the subject-like capacities of the dative in Russian. The first test of subjecthood that he applies is the use of *svoj* 'one's own,' which can have a subjective dative as its antecedent as in (Bachman 1980:94):

*Ne žit' že mne v svoem dome.* 'There's no living in my own house.'

*Mne xorošo rabotaetsja v svoem kabinete.* 'I work well in my office.'

Bachman shows that datives also serve as antecedents for *sebja* 'oneself' and for gerunds and that they behave just as do nominative subjects in topic-controlled deletion, adverbial clause reduction, and comparative reduction.

10 Some authors have suggested that the dative is somehow marked for "humanness"; cf. Běličová (1982:67) identifies a semantic feature of the dative as *personičnost* 'personhood,' and Greenberg (1974:25) shows that the vast majority of dative marking in Russian is on nouns denoting persons and personal pronouns. The ability of animals to function as datives in such utterances is questionable. Wierzbicka (1986:396–397) gives the Polish example *Pomalowałam budę Rexowi* 'I painted Rex's kennel for him' and states that it "sounds odd because it implies that Rex (a dog) wished for the kennel to be painted." Personhood lies at one extreme of the animacy hierarchy, and the interaction of that hierarchy with the semantics of the dative is complex. Note that it is also possible to place inanimates (in particular abstract nouns) in the indirect object position in sentences like the Russian: *Razvitiju iskusstva i literatury v našej strane ne pridaëtsja ogromnoe značenie.* 'Great significance is not attached to the development of art and literature in our country.'



11 This classification of the interaction between nominative and dative arguments of the verb is in some sense an extrapolation of that suggested by Andersen (1970). Note that annulment of domination is a natural gap in this group. The oppressed are always trying to escape their oppressors, but rarely, if ever, is the converse true. Note also that there is just one verb that can be considered a dative-governer but cannot be categorized among those named in this paragraph, nor can it be said to have an extended indirect object. That verb is *závidět* 'envy,' and the use of the dative with it is motivated by the assumption of possession. For more on this verb and its role in the semantics of the dative case, see Janda 1993.

12 The term "emotional dative" is translated from Grepl and Karlík 1986. Note also that the use of the dative of possession in Russian is generally associated with a negative evaluation by the speaker, cf. Levine 1984 and 1986.

13 There is, however, a strong tendency to use prepositional phrases instead of the dative in the extended uses.

14 Pronouns are inserted for definite direct objects and for all indirect objects. Moreover, specific direct objects can trigger this phenomenon as well.

15 This semantic extension of 'give' to 'hit' is not unique to Lithuanian. The same phenomenon is observed, for example, in Romany, and it is similar to English usage as in: *Now we'll give it to you!* 'Now we'll hit you!'

16 Romanian also has a doubled dative which is used with certain intransitive giving and taking verbs, as in *a-i apărea în vis cuiva* 'to appear to someone in a dream.'

17 Note, however, that the use of the dative indirect object with verbs of taking and intransitive taking is part of the grammar of Katharevousa (or "official") Greek, but this feature has been lost in the modern vernacular.

18 Here I am assuming the "original" six-case system of Russian, which leaves out the marginal L2 and G2, selected by Chvany (1980, 111) as the most appropriate two-dimensional conflation model:

| | indef | dir/ascr | quant |
|---|---|---|---|
| −mar/per | NOM | ACC | GEN |
| +mar/per | INST | DAT | LOC |

where mar/per = marginal/peripheral, indef = indefinite, dir/ascr = directional/ascriptive, quant = quantifying.

## APPENDIX

Although I have tried to include most relevant verbs, the lists in the tables below are intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive. There are a few verbs that appear on more than one list, either because they have more than one meaning or because their case usage is motivated by more than one use of the dative. *Hrozit* 'threaten,' has two distinct meanings: 'to utter a threat,' classified among the verbs of giving messages, and 'to behave in a threatening manner,' classified among the verbs of harm (giving evil). The use of the dative with *překážet*

'hinder, interfere' is motivated by both the meanings of harm and symmetrical contest present in the verb.

**Table 1: Synonyms of Czech *dávat* 'give'**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| podávat | 'hand' | odevzdávat | 'hand in' |
| nabízet | 'offer' | dodávat | 'add' |
| předkládat | 'serve, place before' | předávat | 'hand' |
| přisunovat | 'draw toward' | doručovat | 'deliver' |
| strkat | 'push toward' | odvádět | 'turn over, return' |
| cpát | 'thrust upon' | postupovat | 'surrender' |
| vnucovat | 'force upon' | svěřovat | 'put in (someone's) custody, care' |
| přihrávat | 'pass' | vracet | 'return' |
| presentovat | 'present' | | |

**Table 2: Synonyms of Czech *brát* 'take'**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| odnímat | 'take' | čmajznout | 'swipe' |
| krást | 'steal' | šlohnout | 'pinch' |
| zabavovat | 'seize' | štípnout | 'pinch' |
| rvát | 'wrest from' | uzmout | 'take away' |
| trhat | 'yank away' | zcizovat | 'appropriate' |
| škubat | 'wrench away' | vyvlastňovat | 'expropriate' |
| vyfouknout | 'snatch away' | | |

**Table 3: "Intransitive giving" and "Intransitive taking"**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| nadbíhat | 'catch up to, overtake' | ujíždět | 'ride away from' |
| přibližovat se | 'approach' | utíkat | 'run away from' |
| představovat se | 'introduce self to' | ucházet | 'escape' |
| oddávat se | 'devote self to' | unikat | 'escape, leak' |
| věnovat se | 'dedicate self to' | uprchat | 'flee, escape' |
| obětovat se | 'sacrifice self to' | scházet | 'be missing' |
| svěřovat se | 'entrust self to' | chybět | 'be lacking' |
| patřit | 'belong to' | vyhýbat se | 'avoid' |
| příslušet | 'belong to, be owed to' | vymykat se | 'get away from' |
| stačit | 'be enough, suffice' | ztrácet se | 'get lost on' |
| připadat | 'happen to, seem to' | vzdalovat se | 'alienate self from' |
| stávat se | 'happen to' | odcizovat se | 'alienate self from' |
| přiházet se | 'happen to' | odrozovat se | 'defect' |
| zdát se | 'seem to, appear to' | odrůstat | 'outgrow' |
| jevit se | 'be evident to' | schovávat se | 'hide from' |
| zaprodávat se | 'sell out to (as a traitor)' | | |

**Table 4: Metonymical extensions of *dávat* 'give'**

| Understood object is | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **messages or signals** | | **money or gifts** | |
| přisvědčovat | 'consent' | platit | 'pay' |
| lichotit | 'flatter' | obětovat | 'sacrifice' |
| pochlebovat | 'fawn upon' | přispívat | 'contribute' |
| přitakávat | 'pay lip service to' | | |
| poroučet | 'command' | | |



| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| nařizovat | 'order, direct' | **punishment** | |
| děkovat | 'thank' | | |
| přizvukovat | 'second' | nafackovat | 'slap' |
| přát | 'wish' | naplácat | 'spank' |
| blahopřát | 'wish well' | nasekat | 'whip' |
| poroučet se | 'give regards to' | namlátit | 'thrash' |
| žehnat | 'bless' | nabít | 'beat' |
| gratulovat | 'congratulate' | | |
| kondolovat | 'give condolences' | | |
| radit | 'advise' | **good or evil** | |
| promíjet | 'forgive' | | |
| připomínat | 'remind' | vyhovovat | 'comply, satisfy' |
| spílat | 'abuse, call names' | hodit se | 'suit, please' |
| nadávat | 'abuse, tell off' | líbit se | 'appeal to' |
| zlořečit | 'curse' | prospívat | 'benefit' |
| hrozit | 'threaten' | slušet | 'become, suit' |
| modlit se | 'pray' | svědčit | 'be good for' |
| rouhat se | 'blaspheme' | lahodit | 'be pleasant to' |
| chlubit se | 'boast' | chutnat | 'taste good to' |
| žalovat | 'complain' | připíjet | 'drink to' |
| odporoučet se | 'take one's leave of' | odzvánět | 'toll a bell for' |
| odpovídat | 'answer' | vadit | 'hamper, trouble' |
| lhát | 'lie' | škodit | 'harm' |
| volat | 'call' | ubližovat | 'hurt' |
| telefonovat | 'telephone' | překážet | 'hinder' |
| tykat | 'say *ty* to' | nesedět | 'bother' |
| vykat | 'say *vy* to' | hrozit | 'threaten' |
| salutovat | 'salute' | hnusit se | 'disgust' |
| přikyvovat | 'nod to, consent' | znechucovat se | 'disgust' |
| tleskat | 'applaud' | | |
| kynout | 'wave' | | |
| mávat | 'wave' | | |
| smát se | 'laugh at' | | |
| signalizovat | 'signal' | | |
| telegrafovat | 'telegraph' | | |
| psát | 'write' | | |

**Table 5: Governed dative**

| **symmetrical relationships** | | **subordination** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| podobat se | 'be similar' | otročit | 'be a slave to' |
| rovnat se | 'equal' | zaprodávat se | 'sell out to' |
| odpovídat | 'correspond to' | sloužit | 'serve' |
| vyrovnat se | 'compete with' | pomáhat | 'help' |
| konkurovat | 'compete with' | asistovat | 'assist' |
| překážet | 'interfere with' | oddávat se | 'devote self to' |
| bránit | 'prevent, resist' | věnovat se | 'dedicate self to' |
| odmlouvat | 'contradict, talk back' | obětovat se | 'sacrifice self to' |
| odporovat | 'oppose' | podlézat | 'kowtow to' |
| oponovat | 'object to' | podkuřovat | 'toady to' |
| vzpírat se | 'defy' | poddávat se | 'give in to' |

| | |
|---|---|
| protivit se | 'oppose, rebel' |

**domination**

| | |
|---|---|
| vládnout | 'govern' |
| vévodit | 'rule over' |
| dominovat | 'dominate' |
| předsedat | 'chair' |
| učarovat | 'bewitch, captivate' |
| imponovat | 'impress' |
| poroučet | 'command' |
| těšit se | 'enjoy, have at one's disposal' |

**annulment of subordination**

| | |
|---|---|
| odolávat | 'stand up to' |
| vzpírat se | 'oppose, resist' |
| protivit se | 'oppose, rebel' |
| vzdorovat | 'defy, resist' |
| odplácet | 'repay, reathiate' |
| mstít se | 'take revenge on' |
| kompenzovat se | 'repay' |
| vymykat se | 'wrench loose from' |
| podrobovat se | 'submit to' |
| podřizovat se | 'conform to' |
| vzdávat se | 'surrender to' |
| patřit | 'belong to' |
| příslušet | 'be owed to' |
| svěřovat se | 'entrust self to' |
| náležet | 'belong to' |
| holdovat | 'pay homage to' |
| propadat | 'become subject to' |
| podléhat | 'succumb to' |
| povolovat | 'give in to' |
| hovět | 'give in to' |
| přizpůsobovat se | 'conform to' |
| ustupovat | 'yield to' |
| klanět se | 'bow to' |
| dvořit se | 'court' |
| vyhovovat | 'accommodate' |
| zavděčovat se | 'ingratiate self' |
| vděčit | 'be indebted to' |
| důvěřovat | 'trust' |
| stranit | 'side with' |
| věřit | 'believe' |
| rozumět | 'understand' |
| divit se | 'be surprised by' |
| podivovat se | 'be awed by' |
| obdivovat se | 'admire' |

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# REVIEW ARTICLE

Nelleke Gerritsen. *Russian Reflexive Verbs. In Search of Unity in Diversity.* Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics, vol. 15. Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1990. xii + 322 pp., Hfl 90, -/$45.00 (paper).

The purpose of *Russian Reflexive Verbs* (*RRV*) is to find a single invariant meaning of the postverbal affix *-sja*, which will unify and explain its many diverse uses: "reflexive", "middle", "passive", "impersonal", etc. Hence the book's subtitle. Gerritsen attempts to formulate a definition of *-sja* that is more specific than those proposed heretofore. Certain invariant meanings previously ascribed to *-sja*, such as "derived intransitivity" or "valence recession", she argues, are merely syntactic corollaries of the semantic account offered here. Her discussion of many related grammatical problems (e.g. passivity, causativity, impersonality) is helpful and informative, and her treatment of the Russian data, with over 400 illustrated examples, is quite comprehensive. The book is valuable for its close and insightful semantic analysis of the various *-sja* constructions, and for its effort to relate its findings to competing accounts by Russian, American and European scholars. Whether Gerritsen has successfully met her objective of finding a satisfactory unitary meaning for *-sja* is another matter. The author takes some bold conceptual initiatives that are not entirely convincing, despite the fact that the end result is a coherent and rather elegant classificational scheme.

*RRV* consists of a brief introduction, twelve chapters, a classificational scheme of *-sja* constructions, a bibliography, and an index of all *-sja* verbs (henceforth Vsja) discussed. The book is divided into two parts. Part I, "Personal *-sja* constructions", is comprised of Chapters 1–6. Part II, "Impersonal *-sja* constructions", is comprised of Chapters 7–12. Due to space limitations, this review will concentrate on Part I.

Chapter 1, "One or more *-sjas*", rejects the notion that there could be several homonymous *-sjas*, a notion that Gerritsen claims is implied by the typical treatment of Vsja: "Traditionally, Russian reflexive verbs . . . are divided into several unrelated groups according to the presumed meanings of *-sja*, the only generally recognizable feature detectable in all occurrences of -sja being 'intransitivity . . .' (1). In contrast to this approach, Gerritsen seeks to make a case for invariance. She operates from the premise that, until proven otherwise, one form has one meaning. She therefore views the diverse uses of *-sja* as contextual interpretations of one invariant meaning which has yet to be adequately defined.

Chapter 2, "Interpretational types of *-sja*", presents two hypotheses based on Gerritsen's earlier published work. The first hypothesis is that "*-sja* assigns an extra role to the subject of the verb it is attached to" (5). This hypothesis is based in part on a comparison of Vsja with transitive V. In transitive constructions such as *Мальчик моет собаку* or (in an emphatic or contrastive context) *Мальчик моет себя*, there are two participants and two roles: the subject is an Agent and the direct object is a Patient. By contrast, in a "proper reflexive" construction such as *Мальчик моется*, there is only one participant—the subject—which Gerritsen regards as having the *two* roles of Agent and Patient, e.g. The boy is washing (himself). Gerritsen assumes the proper reflexive to be the prototypical interpretation, the one which lies at the basis of all the others, and therefore provides the clearest clue to the invariant meaning of *-sja*. Her principal proposal, then, is to take the idea of the double role of